

Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00070 01 OF 03 110344Z

67

ACTION NODS-00

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FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5303

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USUN 0070

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, MESSRS. SISCO, ATHERTON AND LEWIS ONLY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, XF

SUBJECT: AMB MOYNIHAN'S DRAFT STATEMENT ON PLO PARTICIPATION
FOR JANUARY 12 SC DEBATE

TEXT FOLLOWS OF AMB MOYNIHAN'S DRAFT STATEMENT FOR JANUARY 12
SC MEETING:

QUOTE

MR. PRESIDENT,

AS WILL BE RECALLED, ON DEC 4, 1975, THE LAST OCCASION ON WHICH
THE COUNCIL DEALT WITH MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS, IT WAS PROPOSED TO
INVITE THE PALESTINE LIBERATION ORGANIZATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THAT
DEBATE WITH "THE SAME RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION AS ARE CONFERRED WHEN
A MEMBER STATE IS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE UNDER RULE 37."

THE SAME PROPOSAL IS MADE TODAY. (BEGIN BRACKETS) ASSUMING
THE PROPOSAL HAS IN FACT BEEN MADE. (END BRACKETS)

THE PROPOSAL OF DECEMBER 4 ELICITED THE STRONGEST PROTEST FROM
SOME MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES. OUR
POSITION TODAY IS UNCHANGED FROM THAT OF FOUR WEEKS AGO. BUT THE
POSITION OF THE SC (BEGIN UNDERLINE) HAS (END UNDERLINE) CHANGED,
FOR ON THAT OCCASION, DESPITE THE CLEARLY STATED AND OVERWHELMINGLY

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PAGE 02 USUN N 00070 01 OF 03 110344Z

PERSUASIVE AND AUTHORITATIVE STATEMENTS OF OPPOSITION BY A NUMBER

OF MEMBER STATES, INCLUDING THREE PERMANENT MEMBERS, A MAJORITY DISMISSED THESE STATEMENTS, ABOLISHED PRECEDENT, REWROTE THE RULES AND EXTENDED THE INVITATION AS PROPOSED.

IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT PRESIDENT FORD, IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE GA ON SEPT 18, 1974, SAID: "WE WHO BELIEVE IN AND LIVE BY MAJORITY RULE MUST ALWAYS BE ALERT TO THE DANGER OF THE 'TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY.' MAJORITY RULE THRIVES ON THE HABITS OF ACCOMMODATION, MODERATION AND CONSIDERATION OF THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS."

IF THERE ARE MEMBERS, AND UNDERSTANDABLY THERE MIGHT BE, WHO WONDER THAT THE US SHOULD USE THIS CONCEPT SO EXTENSIVELY, AND CALL THE ATTENTION OF OTHERS TO IT, THERE MAY BE SOME VALUE IN POINTING OUT THAT THE CONCEPT AND THE PHRASE ARE INTIMATELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE EARLY POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE US ITSELF. WE HAD SOUGHT TO ESTABLISH NOT JUST A NEW NATION, BUT A NEW KIND OF SOCIETY, ONE WHICH WOULD COMBINE THE RULE OF LAW WITH THE RULE OF THE MAJORITY. OURS, WE ASSERTED, WAS TO BE A GOVERNMENT OF LAWS, NOT OF MEN. AND YET WE ALSO ASSERTED THAT OUR DECISIONS WOULD BE MADE BY A MAJORITY OF MEN. CLEARLY THERE IS A TENSION BETWEEN THESE TWO PRINCIPLES, AND APPROPRIATELY AMERICANS OF THE 18TH AND 19TH CENTURY WERE CONCERNED WITH THIS TENSION. THE GREATEST CONCERN FOCUSED ON WHETHER THE MAJORITY, RATHER THAN SUSTAINING THE RULES OF THE SOCIETY, WOULD COMMENCE TO CHANGE THEM AT RANDOM, AT WHIM, WHETHER THE MAJORITY WOULD COMMENCE TO DEPRIVE THE MINORITY OF ITS RIGHTS. WHICH IS TO SAY THE MAJORITY AT ANY ONE TIME WOULD SUSPEND THE RULE OF LAW WITH RESPECT TO THE MINORITY AT ANY ONE TIME. IN THE SHORT RUN THIS WOULD MAKE FOR SEVERE INJUSTICE, BUT MORE IMPORTANTLY, IN THE LONG RUN IT WOULD MAKE FOR THE COLLAPSE OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, FOR SOONER OR LATER ALMOST EVERYONE WOULD FIND HIMSELF IN THE MINORITY AND EXPERIENCE THE REALITY THAT THE SYSTEM WAS NOT JUST, WAS NOT TO BE DEPENDED ON. AND SO IN THE END THE NUMBER WHO COULD BE DEPENDED ON TO DEFEND THE SYSTEM WOULD DIMINISH, AND IN THE END THE SYSTEM WOULD DISAPPEAR. AND WITH IT BOTH LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, THE SEPARATE CLAIMS OF WHICH HAVING COMMENCED THE PROCESS, WOULD DISAPPEAR AS WELL.

WHAT IS AT ISSUE TODAY -- NOT IN ITS ENTIRETY, BUT IN SIGNIFICANT MEASURE -- IS THE INTEGRITY OF THE PROCESSES OF THE SC OF THE UN. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THE STARTLING DECLINE IN THE CONFIDENCE WITH
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SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 00070 01 OF 03 110344Z

WHICH THE PROCESSES OF THE GA ARE VIEWED. THIS CHANGE HAS COME ABOUT -- QUICKLY, ALMOST PRECIPITOUSLY -- OWING TO THE BEHAVIOR OF A MAJORITY OF THE NATIONS THERE, WHICH IN THE QUEST OF SHORT TERM GAINS, HAS SOUGHT TO IMPOSE ITS WILL ON THE MINORITY BY MEASURES WHICH COULD ONLY SUCCEED IF THE MAJORITY ACCEPTED THEM AS LEGITIMATE, WHICH CLEARLY THEY WERE NOT, AND IN CONSEQUENCE OF WHICH NOT ONLY THE MEASURES FAILED, BUT THE AUTHORITY OF THE ASSEMBLY DISASTROUSLY AND PRECIPITOUSLY DECLINED.

THE DECISIVE FEATURE OF THOSE MEASURES WAS THAT THEY IGNORED TRUTH -- PALPABLE, VISIBLE, UNALTERABLE TRUTH -- AND EMBRACED UNTRUTH.

WE HAVE COMMENCED THIS SAME PROCESS IN THE SC. ON DEC 4TH, IN DEFIANCE OF ALL THE RULES AND PRECEDENTS OF THE SC, AND IN EQUAL DEFIANCE OF THE REALITIES ON WHICH THOSE RULES AND PRECEDENTS HAVE BEEN ESTABLISHED, AND IN THE FACE OF THE CLEAR NON-ACCEPTANCE BY A LARGE MINORITY OF THE COUNCIL, THE MAJORITY OF THE COUNCIL VOTED TO CONFER UPON THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, AND WHICH DOES NOT EVEN PRETEND TO BE A STATE, "THE SAME RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION AS ARE CONFERRED WHEN A MEMBER STATE IS INVITED TO PARTICIPATE..."

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PAGE 01 USUN N 00070 02 OF 03 110409Z

67

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5304

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 3 USUN 0070

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, MESSRS. SISCO, ATHERTON AND LEWIS ONLY

THE OBJECT OF THIS ACTION BY THE MAJORITY WAS NOT TO ENABLE THE PLO TO BE HEARD IN THIS COUNCIL CHAMBER. THIS COULD HAVE BEEN DONE READILY UNDER THE EXISTING RULES, WHICH PROVIDE FOR JUST SUCH PARTICIPATION BY JUST SUCH ORGANIZATIONS. THE OBJECT OF THE ACTION BY THE MAJORITY WAS TO USE, OR RATHER MISUSE, THE PROCEEDINGS OF THIS COUNCIL TO MAKE OF THE PLO SOMETHING IT IS NOT, TO CHANGE REALITY BY MISREPRESENTING IT, AND TO DO SO IN DEFIANCE OF THE MOST URGENT PROTESTATIONS OF THE MINORITY OF THIS COUNCIL, AND OF THE UN GENERALLY. IT IS PAINFUL TO STATE, BUT IT IS NECESSARY TO STATE, THAT THIS MAJORITY WAS NOT MADE UP OF NATIONS WHICH CONDUCT THEIR OWN AFFAIRS BY MAJORITY RULE, AND SO A CERTAIN TOLERANCE SHOULD BE EXPECTED. AND YET THE ACTION OF THE

COUNCIL THAT DAY TRANSGRESSED ALL BOUNDS OF PRUDENT TOLERATION.
LET ME RECALL MY STATEMENT ON THAT OCCASION:

"...THE US DELEGATION HAS INSISTED UPON A VOTE ON THE ISSUE OF
INVITING REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PLO TO APPEAR BEFORE THE SC. AS A
MATTER OF PRINCIPLE, WE SHALL VOTE AGAINST THEIR BEING INVITED
TO APPEAR.

WE HAVE WITNESSED A CONCERTED ATTEMPT TO DISREGARD THE
RULES OF PROCEDURE AND TO ACCORD TO THE PLO A ROLE GREATER EVEN
THAN THAT WHICH OVER THE YEARS THE COUNCIL HAS GRANTED TO
OBSERVER GOVERNMENTS, AND A ROLE GREATER BY FAR THAN HAS IN MORE
RECENT TIMES BEEN GRANTED TO THE SPOKESMEN OF LEGITIMATE NATIONAL
LIBERATION MOVEMENTS INVITED HERE UNDER RULE 39.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 00070 02 OF 03 110409Z

THE US IS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO AN AD HOC DEPARTURE FROM
THE RULES OF PROCEDURE TAILORED TO MEET THE ASSERTED NEEDS OF
THE PLO.

WHAT IS MORE IMPORTANT, MY GOVERNMENT IS NOT PREPARED TO
ACQUIESCE IN AN ACTION WHICH WILL UNDERMINE THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS,
WHICH IS THE ONLY PROCESS THAT CAN LEAD TO PEACE. FOR REPEATEDLY,
AND AS RECENTLY AS THE DAY BEFORE YESTERDAY, TOLD THE GA OF THEIR
DISDAIN FOR SYSTEMATIC NEGOTIATION. THEY HAVE OPENLY DECLARED THEIR
HOSTILITY, INDEED THEIR CONTEMPT, FOR THE WORK OF THIS COUNCIL.
THEY CATEGORICALLY REJECTED SC RES 242, WHICH FOR YEARS HAS
SERVED AS THE ONLY AGREED BASIS FOR SERIOUS NEGOTIATION. AND NOW,
WE FIND THE PLO CITING ACTIONS TAKEN IN THE GA AND THE SC AS
THE BASIS FOR STILL FURTHER EROSION OF THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

FOR THESE FUNDAMENTAL REASONS WE ARE TOTALLY OPPOSED TO
INVITING THE PLO. TO DO SO WILL DISSERVE THE SEARCH FOR PEACE IN
THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE NOBLEST AND MOST FUNDAMENTAL AIM OF THE SC IS TO ACHIEVE
PEACE AND SECURITY. IN THE CASE OF THE MIDDLE EAST, MY GOVERNMENT
IS DEDICATED TO ACTIVE LEADERSHIP IN THE PURSUIT OF THAT
GOAL. MY GOVERNMENT HAS LONG MAINTAINED THAT THE LEGITIMATE IN-
TERESTS OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE MUST BE REFLECTED IN THE
ARRANGEMENTS THAT WILL BRING PEACE AND SECURITY TO THE MIDDLE EAST.

THE EFFORT WHICH HAS BEEN MADE TO FLOUT THE PROCEDURES OF THIS
COUNCIL AND TO DISREGARD ENTIRELY THE SENSITIVITIES OF THE
PEOPLE OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL CAN ONLY COMPLICATE THE SEARCH
FOR PEACE. WE URGE ALL WHO SHARE THE HOPE FOR A JUST PEACE IN
THE MIDDLE EAST TO WITHHOLD THEIR SUPPORT FROM THIS EGREGIOUS
ATTEMPT TO USE THIS BODY TO DEAL WITH AN AMORPHOUS TERRORIST
ORGANIZATION AS THOUGH IT WERE A CONCRETE ENTITY WITH THE

ATTRIBUTES OF A SOVEREIGN GOVERNMENT."

I WISH TO EMPHASIZE AT THIS POINT THAT I AM NOT ADDRESSING THE QUESTION OF WHETHER OUR PROCEEDINGS HERE ARE OF INTEREST TO THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE. I AM NOT EVEN ADDRESSING AT THIS POINT WHETHER OR NOT THE PLO SHOULD BE VIEWED BY US AS REPRESENTING THESE INTERESTS. THE US VIEW THAT THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE
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SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 00070 02 OF 03 110409Z

PALESTINIAN PEOPLE ARE AN INTRINSIC PART OF THE PROBLEM OF LASTING PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST IS WELL KNOWN AND IS UNCHANGED. THIS IS NOT THE MATTER I AM ADDRESSING. IT IS NOT MY INTENTION TO DEAL WITH THESE MATTERS TODAY.

MY CONCERN TODAY IS WITH PEACE IN THE UN, IN THE SC; WITH THE LEGITIMATE INTERESTS OF THE NATIONS REPRESENTED HERE, AND FOR THE NATIONS WHOSE RIGHTS UNDER THE CHARTER WE ARE REQUIRED BY THAT CHARTER TO PROTECT, NATIONS WHOSE CONSENT TO THESE ARRANGEMENTS IS INDISPENSIBLE TO THEIR EFFICACY, AND WHOSE CONSENT CAN ONLY FLOW FROM THE CONFIDENCE THAT THE ARRANGEMENTS WILL IN FACT BE EFFICACIOUS.

THE FIRST AND FOREMOST OF THESE RIGHTS IS THAT THE COUNCIL WILL DO NOTHING WHICH WILL THREATEN THE TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE OF A MEMBER STATE. OF SUCH ILLEGITIMATE ACTIONS,

NONE COULD BE MORE DESERVING A CENSURE THAN FOR THE COUNCIL TO SHOW ITSELF AS BEING IN SUPPORT OF A STATE, A GROUP OF STATES, OR A MILITANT MOVEMENT DEVOTED TO THE DESTRUCTION OF A MEMBER STATE. THIS

WE ARE EVIDENTLY ABOUT TO DO TODAY. WE WILL DO IT TODAY BECAUSE THE MAJORITY OF THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL SEE THEMSELVES IN NO WAY THREATENED BY THE ACTION.

BUT LET ME SUGGEST WHAT WE MAY BE DOING TOMORROW.

IT WAS THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ, WHO, IN THE COUNCIL'S MEETING ON DEC 4, FIRST ADVOCATED THE FORMULA FOR PLO PARTICIPATION IN THIS DEBATE WHICH IS NOW CITED AS A PRECEDENT. WOULD THE REPRESENTATIVE OF IRAQ WISH US TO ACCORD THE SAME STATURE TO REPRESENTATIVES OF THE KURDISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT, A BAND OF BRAVE MEN AND WOMEN WHO DEFEND WITH PASSION AND CONVICTION THEIR ASSERTION OF CLAIMS TO ANCESTRAL LANDS AGAINST THE INCURSION AND DOMINATION OF WHOLLY ALIEN PEOPLES REPRESENTING GOVERNMENTS WHICH PERSECUTE THEM IN HORRENDOUS WAYS, A STRUGGLE THAT HAS BEEN WAGED SINCE BEFORE THERE WERE MOSLEMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST, INDEED SINCE BEFORE THERE WERE CHRISTIANS?

MR PRESIDENT, IF ZANZIBAR, OR YOUR OWN ISLAND OF PEMBA, SHOULD BREAK ITS ONLY RELATIVELY RECENTLY ESTABLISHED LINKS WITH

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SECRET

PAGE 04 USUN N 00070 02 OF 03 110409Z

YOUR GOVERNMENT, WOULD YOU WISH ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO BE RECEIVED
HERE WITH THE RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION OF REPRESENTATIVES OF A
STATE. OR, SUPPOSING IT WAS MERELY A MATTER OF A GROUP OF ZANZIBARIAN
S
LIVING IN A NEIGHBORING COUNTRY, AND SHELTERED BY THEM. THERE
ARE SUCH COUNTRIES IN EAST AFRICA, AS INDEED THE WORLD OVER.
SUPPOSING THAT COUNTRY ASKED THAT ITS CLIENTS COME HERE AND BE
RECEIVED WITH THE RIGHTS OF PARTICIPATION OF A MEMBER COUNTRY
TO CLAIM A SOVEREIGNTY WHICH CAN ONLY BE THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT
OF TANZANIA?

SECRET

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SECRET

PAGE 01 USUN N 00070 03 OF 03 110436Z

11

ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 5305

S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 USUN 0070

NODIS

FOR THE SECRETARY, MESSRS. SISCO, ATHERTON AND LEWIS ONLY

IF THE RECENTLY EXILED LEADERS OF BENIN WERE TO GET A FRIENDLY
STATE TO BRING THEIR COMPLAINT BEFORE US, WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED
COLLEAGUE ADVOCATE THEIR INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE WITH US
WITH SUCH RIGHTS IN THE DELIBERATIONS WHICH WOULD ENSUE? I
WOULD URGE MY COLLEAGUES TO THINK BEFORE THEY ANSWER. PERHAPS THEY
WILL AGREE THAT THIS SHOULD BE DONE. PERHAPS IT SHOULD BE.
THE US MISSION TO THE UN RECENTLY CALCULATED THE LENGTH OF TIME
SINCE THE GOVERNMENT OF THE MEDIAN MEMBER OF THE UN WAS
OVERTHROWN BY INTERNAL VIOLENCE. IT TURNED OUT TO BE ELEVEN YEARS.
NOT A VERY LONG TIME. NOT LONG ENOUGH FOR MEMORIES TO DIE, OR

LEADERS TO DIE IF THEY MANAGED TO ESCAPE. SHALL WE HAVE SIXTY FORMER GOVERNMENTS SITTING HERE IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER, ALONG WITH, SAY, SIXTY WOULD-BE GOVERNMENTS? WE HAVE ENLARGED THE SEATING ARRANGEMENTS FOR THIS COUNCIL MEETING. SHOULD WE REPLICATE THE GA HALL?

SUPPOSING THE FORMER KING OF LIBYA, A REVERED HEAD OF STATE IN HIS TIME, NOW LIVING SADLY IN EXILE IN A NEARBY STATE, SUPPOSING WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF A FRIENDLY STATE THE KING WERE TO SEIZE THIS COUNCIL OF DISCUSSION OF HIS RIGHTS IN PART OR ALL OF THE TERRITORY CONTROLLED BY THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF LIBYA. WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUE AMB KIKHIA ARGUE FOR HIS FULL PARTICIPATION?

WHAT ABOUT MEDIEVAL KINGDOMS SUCH AS THE UKRAINE, WHICH HAVE DISAPPEARED? OUGHT THEY TO BE REVIVED AND WELCOMED HERE?
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SECRET

PAGE 02 USUN N 00070 03 OF 03 110436Z

WHAT ABOUT MODERN STATES, MEMBERS OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS, WHICH HAVE DISAPPEARED? SHALL THEY BE REVIVED?

WOULD MY DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES FROM PAKISTAN DESIRE THAT A SEAT BE PROVIDED FOR THE PUSHTUNS, PERHAPS UNDER THE SPONSORSHIP OF A NEIGHBORING NATION IN SOUTH ASIA. THERE ARE SAID TO BE NATIONS WHICH MIGHT LOOK WITH FAVOR ON SUCH AN ARRANGEMENT. IF NOT PUSHTUNISTAN, THEN WHAT ABOUT BALUCHISTAN?

I DO NOT BELIEVE I HAVE EXHAUSTED THE LIST. THERE ARE GREAT POWERS HERE SEATED AS PERMANENT MEMBERS OF THIS COUNCIL OF WHOM I COULD ASK A SIMILAR QUESTION. IN FACT, MY VERY MENTION LAST MONTH OF A DISTINGUISHED DISSIDENT CITIZEN OF THE COUNTRY OF ONE MEMBER OF THIS COUNCIL CAUSED THE DISTINGUISHED REPRESENTATIVE OF THAT STATE TO ABSENT HIMSELF FROM THE HALL OF THE GA. WOULD HE NOW CONCEDE THAT THIS DISTINGUISHED MAN, IF HE WERE TO CHARACTERIZE HIMSELF AS THE HEAD OF A LIBERATION MOVEMENT, COULD BE INVITED TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS COUNCIL'S DELIBERATIONS AS IF HE REPRESENTED A MEMBER STATE OF THE UN?

TO SUGGEST THE CHAOS WHICH WOULD DESCEND UPON THIS ORGANIZATION, AND THE WORLD WHICH IT REPRESENTS, IF THE SC WERE TO ABANDON THE DISTINCTION AS TO WHAT IS AND WHAT IS NOT A MEMBER STATE IS NOT AT ALL TO ARGUE FOR AN INFLEXIBLE AND FROZEN INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

,
DEDICATED TO PRESERVING THE STATUS QUO INTERESTS OF EXISTING GOVERNMENTS. THE EXPERIENCE OF THE UN ARGUES THE VERY OPPOSITE. THROUGH THIRTY YEARS WE HAVE WITH TOLERABLE CONSISTENCY MAINTAINED THE RULE THAT THIS IS AN ORGANIZATION MADE UP OF SOVEREIGN AND INDEPENDENT STATES, WHILST AT THE SAME TIME THIS SAME ORGANIZATION HAS PRESIDED OVER THE CREATION OF AN UNPRECEDENTED

NUMBER OF NEW STATES. TO OPPOSE CHAOS IS NOT TO OPPOSE SELF-DETERMINATION. TO THE CONTRARY, IT IS TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE. FOR WHAT CHAOS BREEDS IS EMPIRE: THE IMPERIUM OF OUTSIDERS INEVITABLY DRAWN TO THE OPPORTUNITIES WHICH CHAOS CREATES.

IT WAS PRECISELY TO AVOID REPEATING THIS ANCIENT SEQUENCE AS THE END OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR APPROACHED, THAN AN AMERICAN PRESIDENT PROPOSED THAT THE PEACE SETTLEMENT BE BASED ON AN ENTIRELY NEW PRINCIPLE, THAT OF SELF-DETERMINATION. IT

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 USUN N 00070 03 OF 03 110436Z

WAS HE WHO PROCLAIMED THIS WESTERN CONCEPT, AND AT HIS INITIATIVE THAT IT BECAME ENSHRINED, HOWEVER IMPERFECTLY, IN THE PEACE SETTLEMENT AND IN THE COVENANT OF THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. IT WAS FROM THE VISION OF THIS AMERICAN PRESIDENT THAT THE STATE SYSTEM OF THE MIDDLE EAST AROSE. IT IS BECAUSE OF THIS AMERICAN PRESIDENT THAT WE SIT HERE TODAY DISCUSSING THE RIGHTS OF THE STATES IN THAT REGION, RIGHTS FOUNDED ON SELF-DETERMINATION. IT IS PERHAPS, THEN, NOT WITHOUT SOME HOPE OF BEING HEEDDED THAT THE US MIGHT OFFER SOME THOUGHTS ABOUT THIS UNIVERSALLY HONORED IDEAL, AN IDEAL WHICH THE WORLD SHARES WITH US.

WHAT WE UNDERSTAND BY NATIONAL SELF-DETERMINATION MAY BE ACHIEVED THROUGH A VARIETY OF POLITICAL INSTRUMENTALITIES, BUT THE ONE WAY IT CANNOT BE ACHIEVED IS THROUGH THE IMPOSITION UPON A PEOPLE OF LEADERSHIP BY OUTSIDE FORCES. WE WOULD SAY, AGAIN NOT WITHOUT HOPE OF BEING HEEDDED, THAT SELF-DETERMINATION IS A DEMOCRATIC IDEA. IT IS AN IDEA BASED ON LAW, ON PROCEDURE, ON CONSENT.

IT IS THUS IN THE NAME OF SELF-DETERMINATION THAT THE US DECLARES ITS UNSURMOUNTABLE OPPOSITION TO THE PARTICIPATION OF THE PLO IN THE ROLE PROPOSED FOR IT BY THE MAJORITY OF THIS SC.

I REPEAT:

THE PLO IS NOT A STATE; IT DOES NOT PRETEND TO BE A STATE. FOR THE MOST ELEMENTAL OF REASONS, ONLY MEMBER STATES CAN PARTICIPATE IN OUR PROCEEDINGS AS MEMBER STATES. UNLESS, OF COURSE, WE CHANGE THE RULES, WHEREUPON WE SHALL LOOK FORWARD TO WELCOMING THE DISSIDENT FACTIONS AND NATIONALITIES OF HALF THE WORLD. FOR IN POINT OF FACT, ROUGHLY HALF THE NATIONS IN THE WORLD TODAY FACE SERIOUS TO EXTREME PROBLEMS OF INTERNAL COHESION, OWING TO INTERNAL ETHNIC CONFLICT. THIS IS TRUE OF MORE THAN HALF THE PRESENT MEMBERS OF THE SC.

MOREOVER, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, MUCH LESS A MEMBER STATE, DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF THE STATE OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A MEMBER STATE, AND WHOSE RIGHT TO EXIST IS GUARANTEED BY THE CHARTER WHICH THIS COUNCIL IS PLEDGED TO UPHOLD.

FINALLY, THE PLO, WHICH IS NOT A STATE, AND WHICH DOES NOT
RECOGNIZE THE RIGHT TO EXIST OF ISRAEL, WHICH IS A STATE,

SECRET

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PAGE 04 USUN N 00070 03 OF 03 110436Z

FURTHER REFUSES TO ACKNOWLEDGE THE AUTHORITY OF THIS COUNCIL WHICH
IN RESOLUTIONS 242 AND 338 HAS UNDERTAKEN TO UPHOLD THE
RIGHTS OF THE STATES OF THE MIDDLE EAST. IF I MAY USE A
JUDICIAL ANALOGY, NOT INAPPROPRIATE HERE, THE PLO IS IN CONTEMPT
OF THIS COUNCIL. THE ONLY PURPOSE FOR WHICH IT COULD BE APPROPRIATELY
BEFORE THIS COUNCIL WOULD BE TO PURGE ITSELF OF THIS CONTEMPT.

THERE IS NOTHING FURTHER TO BE SAID. IF IN THE FACE OF THESE
FACTS THIS COUNCIL PROCEEDS NONETHELESS AS THE MAJORITY EVIDENTLY
DESIRES TO PROCEED, NOT ONLY IS THE PEACE OF THE MIDDLE EAST
JEOPARDIZED, BUT THE VERY CONCEPT OF A WORLD ORGANIZATION DEVOTED
TO THE MAINTENANCE OF COLLECTIVE SECURITY COMMENCES WHAT COULD
PROVE AN IRREVERSIBLE DECLINE.

UNQUOTE

(OPR'S NOTE: CORRECT SECTION 2 PARA 11 RPT 11 LAST LINE TO
READ AS FOLLOWS:

WAY THREATENED BY THE ACTION. END OPR'S NOTE)

MOYNIHAN

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